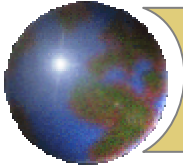


# **Globalization and National Security:** *New Directions for U.S. Defense Strategy*

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**Institute for National Strategic Studies**



## *INSS Study on Globalization and National Security*

- ❖ Published two big volumes and summary report
- ❖ Sounded warning of global dangers ahead
- ❖ Influenced Quadrennial Defense Review 2001
- ❖ Shows how INSS/NDU can produce scholarly studies that help shape policy and strategy



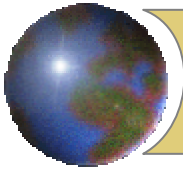
# *Globalization's Dynamics and Consequences*

- ❖ Growing cross-border flows in economics, information, and other areas
  - Draws countries and regions closer together
  - Makes world a single stage of many actors
- ❖ Has good and bad effects
  - Promotes economic progress and democracy in many places
  - Causes dislocations and strains in regions that cannot compete effectively
- ❖ Doesn't solve new-era security problems
  - Security and stability often a precondition for economic and political progress, not a product of them



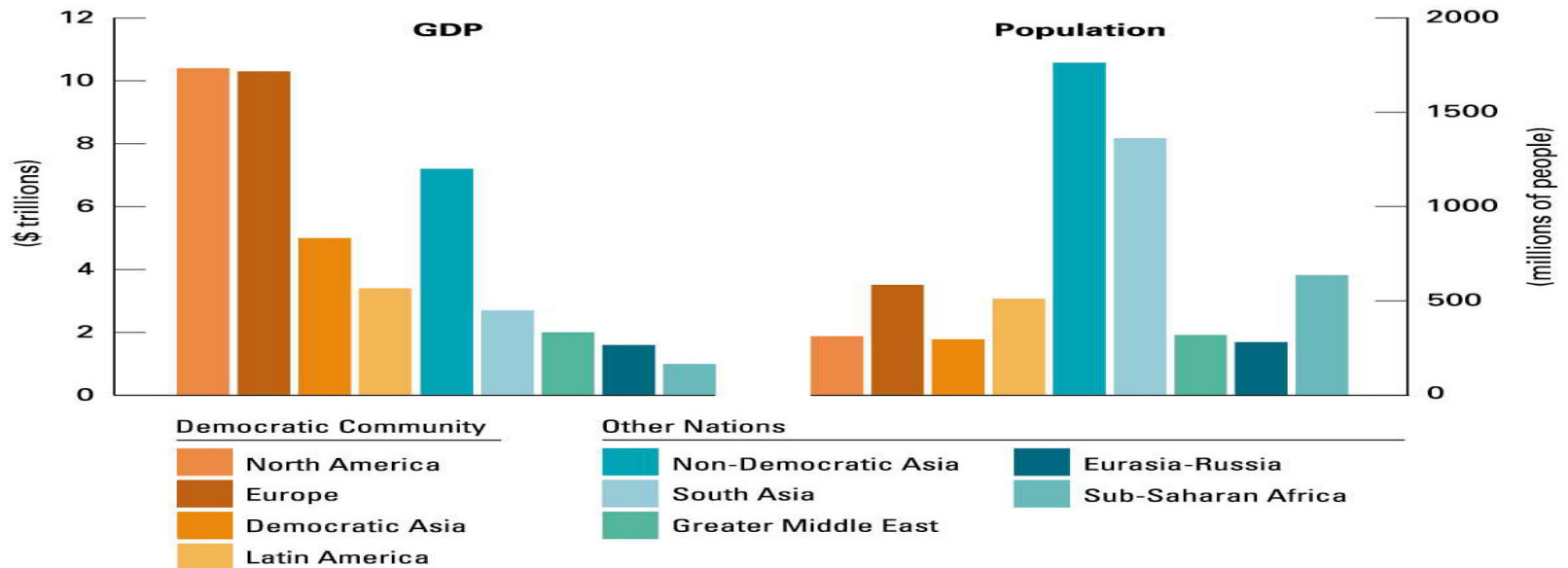
# *Globalization Producing a Bifurcated World*

- ❖ Wealthy democracies becoming more prosperous and stable
  - But vulnerable to terrorism at home and attacks on interests abroad
- ❖ Outlying regions face deep-seated problems
  - Weak governments, societies, economies
  - Poverty and unstable security conditions set stage for chaos
- ❖ Southern belt is zone of red-hot security tensions
  - Nest-bed of terrorism and other dangers



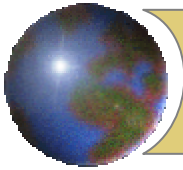
# *Bifurcated World Economy*

**A Bifurcated World Economy**



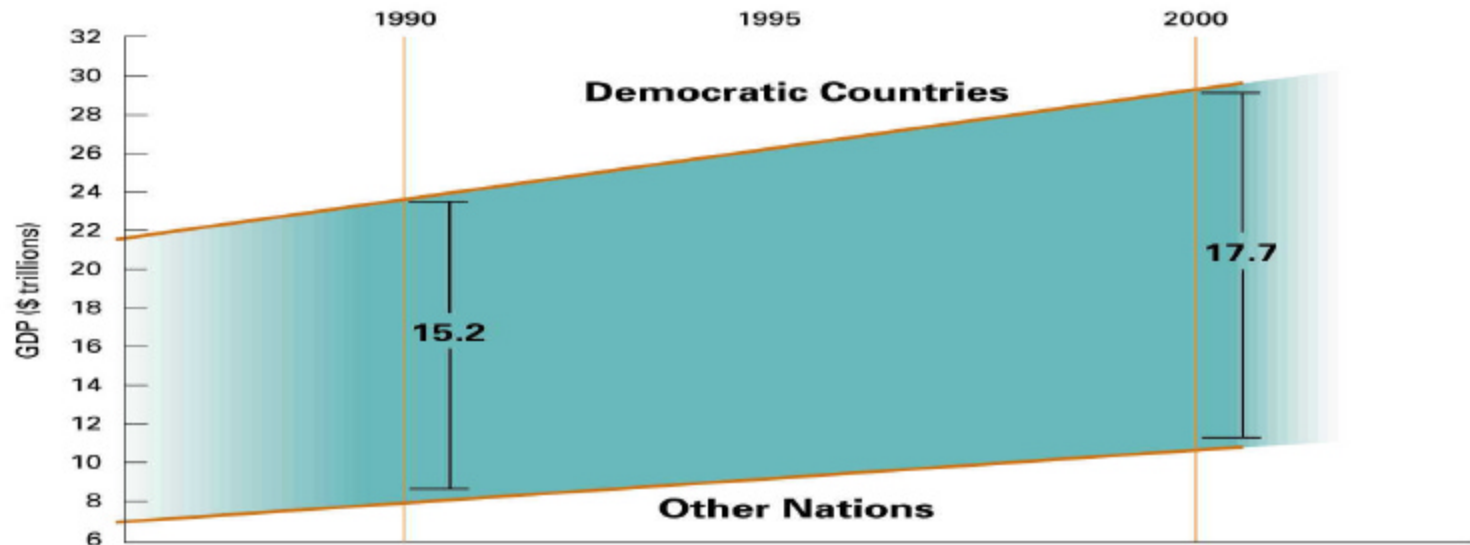
Today's world economy shows a sharp difference in wealth. While the democratic community has a gross domestic product of \$29 trillion, other regions have only \$14.5 trillion. Moreover, democratic countries have smaller populations: only 1.7 billion people versus 4.3 billion. The result is a major difference in the average GDP per capita: \$17,100 in the democratic community and \$3,400 in other regions. Economic data for this chart reflect purchasing power parity estimates.

Sources: International Institute for Strategic Studies, *The Military Balance, 2000–2001* (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the International Institute for Strategic Studies, 2000), and publications issued by the United Nations and the U.S. Government.



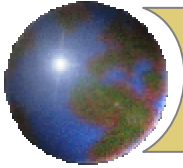
# *The Widening Wealth Gap*

**The Widening Wealth Gap**



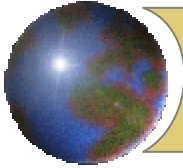
Over the past decade, democratic countries as well as other nations have experienced economic growth rates averaging 2.5 to 3.5 percent annually. Although the world has become a wealthier place, the gap between the democratic community and other regions has widened by about \$2.7 trillion. Overall, major economic gains are manifested in the long term, not the short term. By 2020, while most nations of the world are likely to be substantially wealthier, the democratic countries will far surpass other nations.

Sources: International Institute for Strategic Studies, *The Military Balance, 2000–2001* (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the International Institute for Strategic Studies, 2000), and publications issued by the United Nations and the U.S. Government.



## *Key Regional Trends*

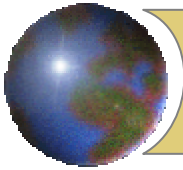
- ❖ Europe--Unifying
- ❖ Latin America--Democratizing Unevenly
- ❖ Russia and Eurasia--Struggling
- ❖ Middle East and Persian Gulf--Strategic Chaos
- ❖ Sub-Saharan Africa--Poverty
- ❖ Asia--Murky Geopolitics and Economic Progress
- ❖ South Asia--India vs. Pakistan, now Afghanistan



## *Key Functional Trends*

- ❖ Information Networks--Multiplying
- ❖ WMD and Military Technology--Proliferating
- ❖ Transnational Actors--Growing
- ❖ Oil and Energy--Mounting Demand
- ❖ Cultural Antagonisms--Increasing
- ❖ Multilateral Institutions--Slowly Growing





# Arc of Strategic Instability

## The Southern Belt of Strategic Instability and Major Theater Deployments

U.S. military forces overseas and at home are distant from areas where future turmoil and conflicts that threaten regional and global interests are likely to occur. This situation will require the United States to employ new forms of overseas presence, power projection, and expeditionary operations to deal with threats in diverse, remote locations around the world.

### U.S.-Based Forces (1.1 million personnel)

About 80 percent of the U.S. military is stationed in CONUS. While many new forces are either operating overseas, or otherwise underway, any additional forces must be deployed to widely dispersed locations in cities.



U.S. Navy Destroyer (Tom J. Malloy)

**Andean Region**  
Regional Instability  
Transnational Problems



AP Photo/Roberto Rodriguez/Reuters

### Europe-Based Forces (about 100,000 personnel)

- 4 Army brigades (2 divisions)
- 1 Navy carrier battle group
- 1 Marine amphibious ready group (plus prepositioned equipment sets for 5 brigades and other units)
- 2.3 Air Force fighter wings (equivalent)

### Persian Gulf-Based Forces (about 20,000 personnel)

- 1 Navy carrier battle group
- 1 Marine amphibious ready group (plus prepositioned equipment sets for 3-4 brigades and other units)
- 1 Air Force fighter wing (equivalent)

### Pacific-Based Forces (about 100,000 personnel)

- 4 Army and Marine brigades
- 1 Navy carrier battle group
- 1 Marine amphibious ready group (plus prepositioned equipment sets for 2-3 brigades and other units)
- 3.2 Air Force and Marine fighter wings (equivalent)

**The Southern Belt of Strategic Instability**

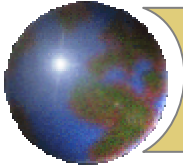
**Africa**  
Ethnic Strife  
Troubled States



U.S. Marine Corps Aircraft Carrier (W. G. Galt)



U.S. Navy Aircraft Carrier (Galt)



## *Security Threats of Early 21<sup>st</sup> Century*

- ❖ Global terrorism, plus other transnational threats: drug trafficking and organized crime
- ❖ Failing states, ethnic warfare, and violent separatism
- ❖ Anti-western ideologies and cultures
- ❖ Medium-sized rogues in pursuit of WMD proliferation
- ❖ New big-power geopolitics: e.g. China on world stage

*Together: Spell trouble ahead*



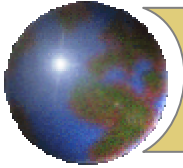
## *The New U.S. Strategic Agenda*

- ❖ Win counter-terrorist war, while preparing U.S. forces for other new-era missions
- ❖ Integrate use of military forces with diplomacy, economics, and other policy instruments to defeat threats and dampen chaos of outlying regions
- ❖ Mobilize help from democratic allies and partners to create new, effective coalitions



## *The New U.S. Defense Strategy*

- ❖ QDR Report 2001 creates new strategic vision, but without program details
  - Enhanced homeland defense and better power projection
- ❖ Focuses on capabilities for new missions, especially southern arc
  - Moves away from 2-MTW formula toward new asymmetric threats and smaller-scale contingencies: endorses CINC joint task forces



## *The New U.S. Defense Strategy (continued)*

- Embraces new operational concepts for employing forces, e.g. early and forcible entry, standoff targeting, new overseas presence
- Calls for flexible, adaptable, modular forces for surprises
- ❖ Pursues transformation responsibly
  - Calls for high-tech spearhead forces backed by modernized legacy forces
  - Program priorities will depend upon future defense budgets



## *Conclusion*

- ❖ National Security can no longer be taken for granted
  - It has a new face
- ❖ Core problem is multiple new threats and underlying chaos of unstable regions
- ❖ DoD is on right track, but a broad strategic response is needed
  - Enhanced interagency process